1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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565 landlords were convicted of a variety of crimes
668 during the Land Reform Movement. Punishment ranged from death to short terms of imprisonment. After release from prison, landlords were given a small piece of land to work and placed under the surveillance of public security agencies or were required to
[697] serve in forced-labor camps. During and after the Land Reform Movement, forced-labor units were established throughout the Southwest Region, and nearly every county maintained a forced-labor battalion.[8] These battalions were engaged in all types of construction from the building and repairing of roads in ethnic minority areas to the extraction of minerals in mining areas. Still other landlords were classified as counter-revolutionaries within the meaning of the term as used in the Decree on the Suppression of Counterrevolutionaries issued by the Ministry of Public Security of the Government Administration Council[9] in Feb. 1951. They

8. For example, see report on the province of Kweichow, New China Daily, Oct. 8, 1951, p. 1.

9. Text of the regulation in People's Daily, Feb. 22, 1951, p. 1.

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 3h,
Economic Background

FORCED LABOR IN SOUTHWEST CHINA

I. INTRODUCTION

687 When the Chinese Communists seized control of Mainland China, they declared that they were going to use forced labor as a means of punishment for political offenders. The "landlord class, bureaucratic capitalists, and the reactionary clique of the Kuomintang" would be compelled to "Reform through labor" in order to qualify as "new men under the new regime."

687 In Southwest China the Communists instituted the Land Reform Movement and the suppression of counterrevolutionaries as they had done in other regions of the country. Chou Hsing, Chief of the Public Security Bureau of the Military and Political Committee in Southwest China, reported on November 17, 1951, that, according to incomplete statistics, there had been 5,181 cases in 1950 involving spies, bandits, "local despots," and other types of counterrevolutionaries in the Southwest Region. 687 Up to June 1950, of the population of that region, 80 per cent were said to have joined with local governments in suppressing counterrevolutionary elements, and thousands of arrests had been made. Beginning in May 1951 public security

697 agencies in the whole region began to clear the accumulated cases and organized the convicts for Reform through labor.[1] A report from Formosa estimated the number of prisoners sentenced to death or to Reform-through-labor for political reasons in this area at 1,484,000 up to the end of 1953, and those who had been put under public surveillance[2] at 743,154. The latter also were forced to perform manual labor.

But in some cases of forced labor, the political aspect has been overshadowed by the economic significance. Men were sent to forced-labor camps not only because they held different political views from the ruling class, but also because they were needed to fulfill huge economic plans such as the Hwai River project in East China and the Ching River harnessing project in the Central-South Region. In the Southwest similar examples may be found in the construction of the Chengtu-Chungking Railway and of the Sikang-Tibet Highway.

II. MASS LABOR IN RAILWAY CONSTRUCTION (CHENGTU-CHUNGKING LINE)

499 The Chengtu-Chungking Line is 505

1. Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily], Chungking, Nov. 21, 1950.

2. Pei-kuan-chih T'ieh-mu Hou Ti Hsi-nan [Southwest China Behind the Iron Curtain], Taipei, Sixth Section, Central Committee, the Nationalist Party, 1954, No. 5, p. 3.

499 workers elsewhere, for they did not use such
466 methods as "emulation drives" and "model workers' elections" to speed up work as they did on other projects. On the contrary, the authorities on the Sikang-Tibet Highway prohibited overtime work. The fact that the labor supply was not so abundant in this region and that they could not afford to transport workers from other parts of the country made them more lenient to the laborers on this project.

The Sikang-Tibet highway was opened to traffic by the end of 1954. To travel from Peking to Lhasa once took several months; today the trip can be made in fifteen days.

IV. REFORM-THROUGH-LABOR IN SOUTHWEST CHINA

• 697 A Communist report admitted that, in the Southwest Region, of the prisoners convicted through suppression of counterrevolutionaries, through land-reform laws, and Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns, 65 per cent had been organized by the end of 1951 into Reform-through-labor corps. They were employed in such heavy work as road-building, house construction, coal mining, collective farming, brick- and tile-manufacturing, and in handicraft industries such as weaving and shoe-making.[19] The size

19. New China Daily, Nov. 8, 1951, p. 2.

697 of the labor corps varied in accordance with the actual needs of the locality and was under the jurisdiction of the local public security offices. The following are some of the labor camps in the Southwest Region.

A. Reform-through-labor Camps in Chungking

Chungking was the headquarters for the suppression of counterrevolutionaries in the Southwest Region in 1951. In that year there were 100,000 arrests in Chungking alone. There were four Reform-through-labor camps in Chungking suburbs: (1) the Shih-pan-p'o, with 4,000 prisoners; (2) Tz'u-ch'i-k'ou, with 1,000 prisoners; (3) Wang-shan camp, with 2,000 prisoners; and (4) Sun-chia-hua-yüan camp, with 1,300 prisoners. The prisoners were organized according to physical condition and production techniques into groups engaging in different trades such as tile- and brick-making, wood, stone, earth, and lime works, and sewing, weaving, and other handicraft industries.

In addition to these permanent setups, there were temporary labor camps in Ts'ai-yüan-pa, Shan-hu-pa, and Ch'ao-t'ien-men. These temporary labor camps had been established to relieve the overcrowded prisons before

697 the labor corps were sent away to construction sites.[20]

B. Reform-through-labor Camp in Ch'i-chiang Hsien (East Szechwan)

Most of the prisoners here were employed in railway construction and coal mining. The corps who were engaged in coal digging netted 13,000,000 yuan (old currency) per month, while the women prisoners in the shoe factories netted 3,000,000 yuan per month.[21]

C. Labor Camp in O-mei Hsien (South Szechwan)

This camp was organized in March 1951, and laborers began work with one worn-out cart; later the camp developed into a large organization, including carpentry, lime kiln, brick and tile shops, paper-making works, and a duck farm. It accumulated a fund of 60,000,000 yuan (old currency) in 1952.[22]

These two cases of Reform-through-labor corps indicate that the Communists carried out the policy of combining punishment with labor

20. Ibid., Oct. 30, 1951, p. 2; also Cheng Ch'u-yuan, op. cit., p. 78.
21. New China Daily, Nov. 8, 1951.
22. Ibid.

•697 production as defined in the forced-labor code, "Regulations Governing Reform-through-labor," promulgated in August 1954. Article 74 of that measure stated that the funds for the agencies enforcing Reform-through-labor are derived from (1) appropriations from the state budget and (2) income from production under Reform-through-labor.[23] In the case of O-mei Hsien Labor Camp, the state had supplied one "worn-out cart." The prisoners produced surplus value for the state at the start.

D. Labor Camps in Fu-ling Administrative District in Szechwan

The local government of Fu-ling Administrative District chose about 90 "intellectuals" and cadres from different hsien for training in the techniques of Reform-through-labor and then sent them back to their native places to join Reform-through-labor camps. They strengthened the rules in the labor camps and enforced among the prisoners a system of awards and punishment. Those prisoners who were found idle during labor service or who violated control measures were severely punished. Others, who had obeyed the law, exerted effort to study, and engage actively in production

23. People's Daily, Sept. 7, 1954.

697 were awarded with praise, material reward, or a reduction of their sentences. After these changes the productivity of the labor corps in this district doubled.[24]

What happened to prisoners who refused to "reform" may be judged from the case of Chiang-chin (Szechwan), where six labor-camp inmates were executed because they resisted control regulations and joined counterrevolutionary groups during the period of Reform-through-labor.[25]

E. Reform-through-labor Corps in Kweichow and Yunnan

According to a report by Ch'en Tseng-ku, vice-chairman of Kweichow Province, 70 per cent of the population of the province had joined the drive for the suppression of counter-revolutionaries. There were about 25,000 prisoners undergoing Reform-through-labor in Kweichow Province in 1951, half of whom became self-supporting when they began work.[26] Most of the prisoners were officials of the Nationalist regime or officers of the Nationalist Army. They were organized into teams according to their knowledge and ability. Those

24. New China Daily, Oct. 20, 1951, p. 2.
25. Ibid., Dec. 12, 1951.
26. Ibid., Nov. 23, 1951.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

697 who had no professional training were formed into groups to reclaim waste land, repair or build municipal warehouses, and work on the highways.[27]

697 731 In Li-chiang hsien, Yunnan Province, a Reform-through-labor corps of 30,000 prisoners was employed to repair the damages of an earthquake in December 1952. With the help of the peasants in the area, they dredged 6 rivers, rebuilt more than 100 villages, dug 78 ditches, and constructed 87 water basins to irrigate 110,000 mou (about 16,610 acres) of rice field, which was returned to production by the prisoners.[28]

There are several Reform-through-labor camps in the suburbs of Kunming, capital of Yunnan Province. One is in T'an-hua-ssu, and contained 3,000 prisoners in 1954.[29]

V. COMMENTS

464 It is doubtful that the use of patriotic appeals in recruiting peasants to work on the construction of such projects as the Chengtu-Chungking Railway and the Sikang-Tibet Highway would be successful again and again. The

27. Sung Wei-ta, Hung-chieh Yü-sheng [Life After Red Terror], Taipei, 1955, p. 104.

28. Yün-nan Tung-nan-ya Ti Huo-san [Yunan--the Volcano of Southeast Asia], Taipei, Sixth Section, Central Committee, The Nationalist Party, May 1954, p. 31.

29. World Today, Aug. 1, 1954, p. 12.

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

695 To wear iron clothing—garments made of tin are made hot and put on the body.

Pao t'ung chu (抱銅柱), to hug the brass pillar. This is a very ancient custom and iron has now taken the place of the brass. The iron pillar is heated red-hot and the individual made to sit on it, or the poker heated and the back singed.

627 697 *Punishment of prisoners upon prisoners. San ch'ia ssŭ hsing* (三卡私刑). These are illegal punishments meted out by resident criminals upon those who are put in for the first time or have no money to satisfy the claims of the little world within the four walls.

T'uan ts'ang (團倉) is to extort the entrance fee on entering gaol. The newcomer pays for a feast or else he will have to suffer unspeakable indignities and will not be allowed his turn in the receiving of pawned goods in the government gaol.

No one who has not paid up, or got someone to promise to pay for him, will be allowed to worship the gaol god, *pai yü shen*. On worshipping he has to give wine, pork and money all round according to his ability. The gaol god has an interesting history; he is declared to have been a district magistrate, who, out of pity, allowed all the gaol-birds to go home for the new year festivities on the condition that they all returned within three days; but on the expiry of the time, as no one turned up, he himself went into gaol and died of grief, and was afterwards deified as the gaol god.

The beginning of trouble, for one who has not paid the gaol fine, is to be beaten with a straw mat to the front of the gaol god, and if the money or the promise of it is not given, he is beaten unmercifully with a club. Next, the poor novice is tied up in an attitude like the *ling kuan* idol, a fierce, overawing attitude; his naked body is then wound round with paper which is tied on with string; this is set fire to and his whole body blistered more or less. This is termed melting the *ling kuan*.

He is also lifted high in the air and beaten on the bare body with bamboo strips or stinging nettles, *yün tuan hsien shêng* (雲端顯聖), exalting his holiness.

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16 .

Again, all the lice, bugs, fleas, and other vermin that can be caught are let loose on his person and every other kind of filth which can be collected is all thrown on him. The unfortunate prisoner is bound with his nose over the manure bucket for a whole night.

A hollow bamboo or old sleeve of a garment is filled with filth from the manure pit, the novice is laid on his back and bound, while the other prisoners occupy themselves with blowing this on to the eyes, nostrils, and mouth of the helpless wretch, *ch'ui wu tu wu* (吹唔嘟唔). In the morning he is bound in the outer court of the prison and the filth of the prison cells poured over him.

Again, his hands and feet are tied to a pillar and the hair fastened to a cross beam in the roof; in this position he has to stand the whole night. This is *ying ko chia* (鸚鵡架), the parrot's perch.

He is stripped naked and hung up by a rope under the arms with the tips of the toes just touching the ground; he is then whipped by the company and his body swings from side to side like the wind bending the willow, *ta fêng pai liu* (打風擺柳). Or he is stripped and suspended by a rope round the waist, about three feet from the ground, and beaten; the body thus suspended resembles and is called a duck swimming in water, *tang hu ch'uan* (蕩湖船), to rock the lake boat. The novice is suspended from the roof by the four limbs in a small cell; he is then rocked from one side of the cell to the other, when different parts of the body get driven against the walls.

He is bound hand and foot and blindfolded, a red-hot goblet is then placed on the head; this is called wearing the iron hat.

He is put in a butt of dirty water with his hands and feet tied, with his nose and mouth above water. This is called soaking the water-gourd, *p'ao shui hu-lu* (泡水葫蘆).

To tie up the novice at the door for the night and forbid sleep or rest is called sticking up scrolls, *t'ieh tui-tzŭ* (貼對子), and to be hung up by the hair for the night with hands and

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

627 feet bound is to be the guardian door god, *pa mên shên* 697 (把門神).

To bend one leg at the knee and bind it in that position with one arm stretched over the head and the other straight out, and then to tie the hair to a beam overhead is hanging up the military god of wealth, *tiao wu ts'ai shên* (吊武財神). Hanging up by the armpits and flogging represents the civil god of wealth (文財神).

In all there are said to be seventy-two kinds of these punishments, the inventions of a degraded humanity. Many of these cannot be learned by enquiry, while others are unfit for publication.

Duties of a District Magistrate,

Ta Ch'ing chou hsien kung shih (大清州縣公事)

647 A new appointment is announced in the Provincial 693 Treasurer's Yamen by a notice hung up. A notification on red paper is sent to the present official, giving his successor's name and other particulars; this is also posted in the yamen.

Those managing public business in the yamens collect money for the new magistrate's outfit—a thousand or perhaps several thousand taels, *ti hsü chih* (遞須知). If the money is accepted these men will afterwards attend to affairs according to their own wills; otherwise the magistrate will be more free.

On the proper day men and horses are sent off to bring the new official. On arrival at the city gates he enters a pavilion put up for the purpose where a pig's head, feet and tail, *san shêng* (三牲), are prepared with candles and incense already burning, and he kneels and worships the city gates. Some officials are very superstitious as to the point at which they enter the city.

One of his first duties is to inspect the city walls, *yüeh ch'êng* (閱城), and he also worships in the Confucian temple. Both old and new incumbents worship the seals of office when these change hands. There is also a ceremony of kneeling and bowing toward Peking.